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with Jchitaro Shimizu, speaking in Washington before the war: "To say that Japan is a warlike nation, I repeat it, is a grievous mistake."

## THE PATHOS OF OUR CHALLENGE

A PROUD city of Central Europe, with a population well over two millions, organized for the government of the greatest continental empire of Europe outside of Russia, is in the process of dissolution. Men, women, and children of Vienna are starving to their death. Dr. Adolph Lorenz, the well-known surgeon, has told us of 2,000,000 people in Austria threatened now with death from cold and starvation.

Monsieur Clemenceau, in his note to the Austrian delegation at St. Germain, charged that the Austrian peoples must be expected to "share the responsibility" for the war precipitated by the former Austro-Hungarian Government because they had favored the war throughout, doing nothing up to the final breakdown on the battlefield to dissociate themselves from the policy of their government and its allies.

We are in receipt of a letter from the Austrian League of Nations-Union, pleading, in reply to M. Clemenceau, that they have been "creatures of unfortunate circumstances" and subjected to "forces over which we had no control." These Austrian gentlemen protest that the Austrian peoples have not "been fervent adherents of the war during its whole term"; but that "as in all other countries the holders of the civil and military power succeeded indeed for a short space of time to maintain the outward semblance of enthusiasm of large masses for the war. It was rather the feeling of resigned fulfillment of duty which animated the people. During the war the number of the partisans of peace steadily increased. But whatever could be done by the strictest censure of the press, by the gagging of Parliament, and by the military dictatorship, in order to suppress every true manifestation of public feeling, has been done for over four years on the largest scale. The passionate ill-will of the people which had slumbered in them during the war came to a violent eruption after the collapse of the military machinery. It turned itself against the war and its authors. On the other hand, as long as the struggle went on every attempt to rouse numerous citizens to a public demonstration in favor of peace was doomed to certain failure, because every country engaged in this dreadful war stigmatized such attempt as an act of high treason fomented by the enemy, and suppressed it without mercy."

"Of all the peoples, however, the Austrian people seem to be least answerable for the deeds of their government. . . . In fact, the Austrian people were uninformed and without any political judgment. The organized

propaganda of the press found no difficulty in creating hostile feeling by distorting truth, a travesty to which every belligerent Power unfortunately stooped. . . .

"The suffering our innocent peoples had to sustain the last five years ought not to be increased by their having to atone for the sins of the principle of might which prevailed hitherto in international relations.

"The Austrian nation is now in greater need than ever of being led with good-will. An inculcation which hurts its sense of justice cannot but prolong indefinitely and intensify the feelings of aversion held by all nations against the victors. It is not by such treatment of the defeated nations that the longed-for goal of a lasting peace may be attained."

The letter proceeds to point out that the Austrian people had most warmly greeted Mr. Wilson's principles of peace, and that now public opinion in their country has been cruelly disappointed. And yet they are looking for a stable and lasting improvement in future international relations, a coming together and a reorganization. They plead that their task may not be made impossible. They ask a just judgment based on the same standard as that applied to the guilt of all belligerent nations. The letter closes with these words: "But in this case you might be perhaps compelled to acquit all the nations and solely to condemn the imperialistic principle of might, unfortunately still adopted by the governments and daily creating new appalling dangers for the peace and civilization of the whole world."

We have quoted these measured words from this interesting letter because they set forth a point of view which we may well ponder upon. The Central Powers of Europe have been unquestionably defeated in a vast and devastating world war. This is proved by the terms of the armistice, by the treaty of peace, by the logic of facts, and by the acknowledgment of the fallen. With the experience of the last five years vividly in mind, with a major part of Germany's war equipment in the hands of the French, with the abolition of the German navy an accomplished fact, with the great British navy stronger than ever, with the peoples everywhere sick and tired of war, all talk of the reopening of hostilities, even from the lips of Marshal Foch, is stuff and nonsense.

The challenge of the United States and of the nations associated with us in the World War is to bring about a just and lasting peace. If we have been faithless to our promise which pledged to the Germans and their Allies the nation's honor to make peace upon Mr. Wilson's fourteen points, and there is no doubt of our faithlessness in this respect, it is our duty to go about the business of making amends. If we have compromised our principles, violated the laws of humanity, acted contrary to the teachings of history, disregarded justice, played fast and

loose with certain matters of honor, all for the sake of an impossible League of Nations, we should do so no longer. Matters involving the life and death of countless innocent ones are in the balance. The time for irrational hatreds is passed. The pathos of the cry of countless peoples is in our ears. The pain and dying in Vienna is repeated in Constantinople, Petrograd, Moscow, Bucharest, Belgrade, northern France, Germany, to say nothing of Holland, Switzerland, and elsewhere.

We believe in the essential integrity of men and women everywhere. The American people are sound in judgment, honest in conviction, just and noble at heart when once they understand. In group consciousness they lean instinctively toward righteousness. We believe the same to be true of peoples other than our own—the Mexican, Japanese, German, French, Arabian. Except in war, the common people, freed from control by self-seeking governing groups, will not for long pursue the morally iniquitous. Let us declare peace with our former enemies. Let us refuse to compromise any principle involving our honor as a nation. Let us turn from the efforts to enforce peace in Russia, Hungary, Austria, to a democratic conference of the society of nations. Let us turn our industrial and banking resources in common sense and generous enthusiasm to the reconstruction of the broken nations everywhere.

Now is the time when it should be said of America that "in her tongue is the law of kindness;" not in her tongue only, but in her deeds also. No one can doubt that at the heart of the American people lies kindness. When in September, 1900, property valued at \$30,000,000 and lives numbering between six and seven thousand were lost because of tornado and tidal wave in Galveston, Texas; when in May, 1902, 30,000 persons perished in Martinique because of the eruption of Mt. Pelee; when in February, 1904, \$70,000,000 worth of property was destroyed by fire in Baltimore; when 167 children were burned to death in the school-house near Cleveland, Ohio, March 4, 1908; when San Francisco was in distress; when the Italians in Sicily were dying because of earthquake; when men and women were suffering because of floods near Dayton, or in Johnstown, or down the Ohio River, the sympathy and the kindness natural to the heart of America was not slow to express itself generously and nobly. And yet no one of these catastrophes, not all of them together, approach in seriousness, pathos, or appeal, the tragic pain and need where war has been. Now is the time for a special kind of hatred, and only this kind of hatred is tolerable, the hatred of hatred. The will to power by the way of force having been overcome by force, the methods of brute force should now cease. Mr. Lloyd-George frankly admits that Bolshevism cannot be destroyed by military intervention. Having overcome the dangers of military

might, it is time now to go about the healing business of creating those things which make for the life and happiness of the peoples. Conditions which make it necessary for men, women, and children to die from hunger and cold should cease. The pain of the world challenged the youthful Buddha and the young carpenter of Nazareth. It is the challenge to every noble impulse of every honest man today. The one collective job for church, school, business, legislature, is to concentrate upon the problem of feeding, clothing, and aiding in every needful way those who are in danger of unnatural extermination, and that without too fine discrimination between those who have been our friends and those who have been our enemies. We are inclined to agree with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Northampton, who, speaking recently in Manchester, England, expressed the view that the social problem is not a political problem or an industrial problem, but that it is essentially and primarily a moral problem, which means in the long run that it is a religious problem. Assuming that the learned bishop meant not that it is our duty to go about the business of saving religion, but at the vital matter of helping our fellow-men, we agree with him.

Wars always beget and breed the methods of despotism. Our challenge is to see that this shall be true of this war as little as possible. We claim to have participated in this struggle for the sake of humanity. The war being over, the purposes of humanity cannot be furthered by the extension of hatred. The imperial system of Germany being destroyed, Germany having been told that the world would treat with the German people, and Germany now being a democracy, it is a bit surprising to note the little interest shown by America, England, or France in the perpetuation of that democracy. But the unwillingness to recognize the preventable misery and dying of innocent persons, first in France and then everywhere in Europe, cannot continue if we would in America maintain our self-respect and Christian civilization.

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**S**OUTH AMERICA's actual deportable wealth and her potential natural resources are today so much greater than those of some of the other continents, and her nations have come out of the war so much stronger financially, relatively speaking, than they ever were before, that it is high time that she came to the aid of North America in helping smitten Europe and western Asia. This duty is seen and admitted in the project of President Irigoyen, of the Argentine Republic, to appropriate more than two million dollars from the national treasury with which supplies for starving Austria may be bought and sent as soon as possible to the hungry folk. He would use the navy to transport the supplies; and Austria is to be told that she can repay at her convenience.

THE aftermath of war is far from admirable, as seen in the disclosures of rivalries between commanders of armies and fleets. The British situation just now has been described by Mr. Churchill as "a cacophonous chorus of concentrated backbiting."

MAJOR GENERAL John F. Ryan, ablest in many ways of the former officers of the National Guard, who won high rank and honors in the war, is opposed to the decision which pressure from the kinsfolk of soldiers killed in foreign lands has forced the government to make. He claims to speak for the rank and file of the survivors in combatting the plan to disinter the bodies of the dead and transport them overseas. In the case of men buried in France, he makes the point that if, against the desire of the French Government, we proceed, we also will weaken bonds that otherwise might be strong in keeping the republics friendly. Not only will there be the present sources of friction, but we will seem to insult an ally, who reveres the men who fell, and who has planned to honor perpetually their white-cross adorned tombs.

FUNDS provided by Mr. Hoover from the left-over assets of the Supreme Economic Council, and also by Americans of German ancestry and workers provided by the American Friends' Service Committee, are to be the agencies by which children in Germany, who are suffering from subnormality due to continued undernourishment in Germany, are to be cared for this winter. Mr. Hoover has made this offer of golden opportunity to the Friends after seeing the splendid work done by their youth of both sexes in France and Russia. He rightly interprets the best American mind when he says: "I do not believe for a moment that the typical American would have any other wish than to see everything possible done for the protection of child life wherever it may be in danger. We have never fought with women and children, and our desire must be to see the wounds of war healed throughout the world." Fortunately, the call to service has met with the heartiest sort of response by official American Quakerdom; and the task now is to get the right sort of workers and in sufficient number.

THE treaty with Colombia, held up after the Senate had practically decided for ratification, should if possible come anew before that body at an early date, for delay irritates not only Colombia, but also her Latin-American neighbors generally, who have made the issue involved a test case of the sincerity of the United States. The issue has been pending in the Senate since 1914. Negotiations had proceeded far enough to enable the

State Department and the Senate to see eye to eye, and then at the last minute it was reported that Colombia by executive decree had shown unfairness to American citizens who claimed title to oil lands, the inference being that the nation was hostile to American capital. It is now said that the decree was not so intended; that it was hastily issued and ill-considered; that it has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and been denounced by the press, and that the Minister who issued it has been forced to resign. Simultaneous with this the national legislature has proceeded to enact legislation making discrimination between nations in placing loans illegal; and everything is being done to prove that American aid is sought in developing the republic. *Noblesse oblige.*

FIXITY of ideas as to the innate, belligerent character of humanity, the inevitability of war between nations, and the necessity for it as a natural flowering of Nature herself, still characterizes the German militarist. Ludendorff in his *apologia sua vita*, now published, says:

Every human life is a battle on a small scale; within the various States parties struggle for supremacy, and so it is in the world of nations—so it will ever be. That is a natural law. Enlightenment and a higher morality can alleviate the struggle for power, as well as the means of waging it, but can never destroy the desire for power itself, for that goes against human nature and in the long run against Nature itself. Nature is war. If that which is strong and good does not win, then the ignoble powers gain supremacy. If we want the good to survive we must be prepared to defend it by fighting and even by violence. Even goodness can only live if it is strong.

We would respectfully remind our ozone-charged apologist that in all the animal world the human animal is the only animal that wars against its own species. Furthermore, by confusing "struggle for supremacy" with "war" the versatile philosopher of the prize-fight theory quite begs the question.

THE Norwegian parliamentary committee has decided not to award the Nobel peace prizes for 1918-1919. Somewhat strange, is it not, that in an era of "peace-making" no one could have been found worthy? Are the Norwegians ironists?

IT is rather disheartening to have the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, defining the ideals of his party for the coming presidential campaign, intimating that the United States might better have spent on trans-continental highways the money it loaned the Allies during the past war. While Germany and her allies were being fought, the dollar was as necessary for France,

Italy, and the lesser folk we aided as was the doughboy. Moreover, the loans were simply for credit with which to buy goods in the United States. Surely, the Governor needs a tonic.

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THE first of the German fortresses on the Rhine to be dismantled under the terms of the Peace Treaty is to be turned into a hospital. A new and commendable variant of transforming "spears into pruning hooks."

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## THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

### III. The Dignity of Human Character

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

IN SPITE of the war, in many cases because of it, human character has been seen to rise to impressive heights: now here; now there. It is not necessary to decide whether the war was won by thrift, applied science, ship-builders, doughboys, the four-minute men, generals, to see in all these the magic of human character working its way. Civilization at any moment in history is but a composite of collective human character at the time. Laws, institutions, inventions, ideals, arts, sciences are the products of it.

#### AXIOMS AND MAXIMS

The science of mathematics begins in axioms, those comfortable foundation truths, the validity of which is said to be self-evident and unquestioned. These axioms are the very foundations of the mathematical sciences, for upon them depends all the success attainable in those branches. If one gets lost in the puzzle one returns to one's axioms, and, reviewing afresh the general directions, one starts again on the new course inspired with new hope, soothed and sustained by the unfaltering axioms. Harnessing these axioms to such dark arts as addition, subtraction, multiplication, or division, marvelous feats have been accomplished, especially during the war, in enginery and trajections. The persistence, insight, and power of the human mind in the field of mathematics illustrates the dignity of human character beyond any layman's poor power to describe.

In a similar vein, men set up for themselves moral ideals, and, taking a leaf out of the arithmetics, they aim to fashion precepts, theorems or maxims for the scientific attainment of those ideals. Some of the furtive attempts to find for the moral world the equivalent of axioms end sometimes pathetically in quack aphorisms of finality, classified conveniently and ready for use quite as medicines in little bottles, labeled and ready at a moment's notice. Treatises on etiquette, manuals of polite behavior, indicate the natural, human desire for

rules. Helpful as these important works of literature may be, human character at its best sympathizes with nature and abhors rules quite as she abhors a vacuum. A lively man frequently defies the yard-stick and the balance. Mirabeau often tried to forget his formulas and start fresh. Learning rules for moral guidance leads easily to cant, and cant is simply moral imbecility. Pedantry and pious prudery are less popular than before the war, or ought to be. Axioms in morals, universally applicable, are elusive and hard to find, especially just now.

Yet human character is always a practical thing bent upon results. The light which it pursues is the light toward which the whole world draws. Human character has been the inspiration of Plato, Kant, Hegel, and all the others in the long line. To improve human character is the goal of all social effort. Men easily agree with Aristotle, who says in his *Nicomachean Ethics*: "From a practicable philosophical view, it much concerns us to know this good; for then, like archers shooting at a definite mark, we shall be more likely to attain what we want." A brainless morality is a contradiction in terms.

The very fact of existence means some measure of the desire to understand existence and to promote it. Human character is at once an acknowledgment and an interpretation of this desire. Whatever man's attitude toward rules may be, he is at his best when riveting his best attention upon those institutions which make for a more hopeful personal character among men. Because of the war he believes more than ever that if his institutions, the public schools for example, do not exist to furnish men with copy headings for the guidance of life, they do exist to furnish practicable principles just the same, to bring the nature of the highest good to clear consciousness and to indicate the nature of the means by which this good is to be attained. If his churches, for example, cannot indicate the rules by which men are to be guided, they must indicate the spirit in which lives are to be lived, the spirit, possible, tangible, and applicable, which giveth life. If it is in their introspective and inspirational rather than in their mandatory phases that public education, churches, and the laws accomplish their greatest good, yet it is seen that social service to be effective must be sufficiently mandatory to end in conduct, for conduct, be it of men or of institutions, including States, is the only evidence of character. The universal axioms of science, fundamental and mandatory, find their counterpart in certain maxims of the moral world, equally fundamental and mandatory.

#### THE THREE ATTITUDES OF MIND

The dignity of human character is not lessened by the foolishness of men any more than the sun is injured by